

Message Text

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FOR HODDING CARTER FROM S/PRS-BROWN, NO. 2

E.O. 11652. N/A

TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS R.)

SU ECT: MOSCOW VISIT: PRESS REPORTS SUNDAY, MARCH 27

1. NYTIMES (GWERTZMAN FROM MOSCOW) HEADLINES FRONTPAGE
RIGHT "VANCE IN MOSCOW TO AFFIRM DETENTE AND SEEK ARMS CUT"

STORY CARRIES PROMINENTLY VNUKOVA ARRIVAL STATEMENT
BALANCED AGAINST SATURDAY IZVESTIA ARTICLE
CRITICIZING HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY THAT "IN NO WAY COULD
SERVE THE CAUSE OF PEACE OR THE INTERESTS OF THE UNITED
STATES ITSELF." VANCE AIRBORNE NEWS CONFERENCE RECOUNTED
WITH EMPHASIS ON SECRETARY'S "INDIGNANT"(NYTIMES) RESPONSE,
THAT "I HOPE VERY MUCH THAT WE WILL SPEND OUR TIME TALKING
ABOUT THE COMPREHENSIVE PACKAGE. THAT CLEARLY IS MY VIEW,
IS THE PREFERRED PACKAGE. IT IS THE PACKAGE THAT REALLY
GETS TO THE HEART OF ARMS CONTROL AND THIS IS THE ONE WE
CLEARLY PREFER AND THUS HOPE IT CAN BE THE CENTRAL PIECE
OF OUR DISCUSSION."

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2. NYTIMES DAVID SHIPLER, WRITING FROM MOSCOW, HEADLINES,
"MOSCOW SHOWS CAUTION CONCERNING PROSPECTS VANCE NEGOTIA-
TIONS," FOLLOWING IS EXCERPT:

"....WITH A FULL AGENDA OF DIFFICULT MATTERS TO DISCUSS,

AND AMID SOVIET IRRITATION WITH PRESIDENT CARTER'S OUT-SPOKENNESS ON HUMAN RIGHTS, THE VANCE MISSION HAS ASSUMED CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE IN ITS POTENTIAL FOR SETTING THE TONE OF MOSCOW'S RELATIONS WITH THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION.

IT WILL BE THE FIRST FACE-TO-FACE CONTACT BETWEEN SOVIET LEADERS AND TOP AMERICAN OFFICIALS SINCE THE INAUGURATION, AND IT IS EXPECTED TO BE USED MAINLY AS A FORUM FOR TESTING EACH OTHER'S VIEWS ON THE CENTRAL QUESTIONS OF DETENTE. NEITHER SIDE HAS BEEN ACTING AS IF IT ANTICIPATES ANY SIGNIFICANT AGREEMENT FROM THE THREE DAYS OF MEETINGS, WHICH ARE SCHEDULED TO BEGIN ON MONDAY. BUT THE NEGOTIATIONS MAY SHOW WHAT IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO DO IN THE FUTURE.

THE SOVIET PRESS HAS TAKEN ITS CUE FROM A SPEECH MONDAY BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY CHIEF, LEONID I. BREZHNEV. HE SAID THAT NORMAL DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS WAS "UNTHINKABLE" IN THE CONTEXT OF WASHINGTON'S CRITICISMS OF THE SOVIET UNION ON RIGHTS. BUT HE ALSO TOOK WHAT MR. CARTER CALLED A "CONSTRUCTIVE" ATTITUDE ON ARMS CONTROL AND OTHER KEY ISSUES.

THE OFFICIAL PRESS HAS SUBSEQUENTLY EMPHASIZED THE CONSTRUCTIVE ASPECTS OF THE SOVIET LEADER'S SPEECH, BUT IT HAS IGNORED MOST OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FOR WEAPONS REDUCTIONS AND THE LIKE, LEADING SOME FOREIGN DIPLOMATS HERE TO SPECULATE THAT THE KREMLIN IS PREPARING TO BLAME WASHINGTON IF THE VANCE VISIT FAILS

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TO MAKE PROGRESS.

3. NYTIMES LEAD EDITORIAL "ARMS CONTROL, FOR A CHANGE".

BEGIN TEXT:

PRESIDENT CARTER WANTS "ACTUAL REDUCTIONS, FOR A CHANGE" IN THE NUCLEAR ARSENALS OF THE UNITED STATES AND SOVIET UNION, AND HIS DISARMINGLY SIMPLE PHRASE DEFINES A MOST DELICATE MOMENT IN THE HISTORY OF SUPER-POWER DIPLOMACY. WITHOUT SUCH REDUCTIONS AND MORE SEVERE LIMITS THAN ANY EVER WRITTEN INTO ARMS-CONTROL AGREEMENTS, WE FACE ANOTHER OMINOUS ROUND OF WEAPONS DEPLOYMENT. NEITHER SIDE CAN GAIN SECURITY BY RUNNING YET ANOTHER LAP IN THE ARMS RACE. BUT IF IT IS RUN, BOTH SIDES WILL FIND IT EVEN HARDER TO END THE COMPETITION.

ARMS AGREEMENTS BETWEEN MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON DEPEND MATERIALLY ON THE FACTS OF WEAPONRY. BUT THE RIVAL PERCEPTIONS OF THOSE FACTS DEPEND IN NO SMALL MEASURE ON THE GENERAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS.

THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF MR. CARTER AND LEONID BREZHNEV HAVE HAD NO RELATIONSHIP UNTIL THIS WEEKEND; A GREAT DEAL THUS RIDES ON SECRETARY OF STATE VANCE'S CURRENT MISSION TO MOSCOW.

IF THE RUSSIANS ARE UP ON THEIR CARTEROLOGY, THEY WILL AT LEAST BEGIN THE TALKS AWARE OF THE SINCERITY OF THE PRESIDENT'S DESIRE TO CURB THE NUCLEAR COMPETITION. HE HAS SELECTED CONTROL-MINDED SECRETARIES OF STATE AND DEFENSE. WITH GREAT EXERTION, HE WON THE APPOINTMENT OF PAUL WARNKE, A COMMITTED ARMS CONTROLLER, AS HIS CHIEF NEGOTIATOR. HE HAS COMMUNICATED PRIVATELY WITH MR. BREZHNEV ABOUT THE URGENCY OF NEGOTIATION, EVEN OFFERING A FREEZE ON NEW WEAPONS IF THE TALKS WERE SURE TO REACH THE MOST SENSITIVE PROBLEMS MORE QUICKLY THAN PREVIOUSLY PLANNED.

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BUT THE PRESIDENT'S COMPANION MESSAGE HAS BEEN TOUGH. THE PAST PATTERN MUST BE BROKEN - NO MORE FORSWEARING THE PAST PATTERN MUST BE BROKEN - NO MORE FORSWEARING ONLY THOSE WEAPONS THAT NEITHER SIDE WISHES TO BUILD IN ANY CASE. SPECIFICALLY, IF THE NEW AMERICAN CRUISE MISSILES CANNOT BE LIMITED BY AGREEMENT SOON, THEY WILL BECOME A FORMIDABLE OBSTACLE TO FUTURE CONTROLS. THEY CAN BE LAUNCHED FROM AIR, SEA OR LAND, AND THE NONNUCLEAR SHORT-RANGED VERSION IS ALMOST INDISTINGUISHABLE FROM THE LONG-RANGE MODEL. THEY CANNOT BE NEGOTIATED AWAY WITHOUT SUBSTANTIAL SOVIET CONCESSIONS. THE PRESIDENT HAS DEFINED THESE AS SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS IN THE NUMBERS AND KINDS OF WEAPONS PREVIOUSLY ENVISIONED FOR BOTH SIDES.

THIS AMERICAN POSITION, FROM AN UNTESTED PRESIDENT --AND ONE WHO INSISTS ON SYMPATHIZING SO ELABORATELY WITH SOVIET DISSIDENTS--OBVIOUSLY TROUBLES THE RUSSIANS. THEY THOUGHT THEY WERE IN SIGHT OF AN AGREEMENT THEY LIKED WITH PRESIDENT FORD, WAITED A YEAR FOR THE AMERICAN ELECTION, AND NOW FIND THAT FUTURE AGREEMENTS WILL DEPEND ON THEIR WILLINGNESS TO GIVE UP WEAPONS THAT PAST ACCORDS SEEMED TO SANCTION. THEY CANNOT EASILY SHAKE THE FEAR OF A TRICK, OF A HARD-LINE PRESIDENT IN DOVE FEATHERS.

MR. VANCE AND MR. WARNKE MUST BEGIN TO LAY OUT THE AWESOME CALCULUS THAT EXPLAINS THE NEW AMERICAN POSITION WHILE ALSO OFFERING OTHER SUBJECTS FOR NEGOTIATION SO THAT THE RUSSIANS CAN TEST THE ADMINISTRATION'S BROADER INTENTIONS. THEY MUST CONVEY THE MISTRUST THAT SOME SOVIET WEAPONS PROGRAMS HAVE AROUSED IN WASHINGTON, LEADING

TO THE PRESIDENT'S CONCLUSION THAT IF THE STOCKPILES ARE NOT SOON ACTUALLY REDUCED, THEY WILL HAVE TO BE AUGMENTED AGAIN .

THE CHANCES OF A MISUNDERSTANDING IN THESE EARLY UNCLASSIFIED

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CONTACTS ARE OBVIOUSLY GREAT. BUT SO ARE THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR PROGRESS. FOR A CHANGE. END TEXT

4. JAMES RESTON'S COLUMN IN THE NYTIMES ENTITLED "VANCE'S MISSION TO MOSCOW" WILL BE TRANSMITTED TO YOU MARCH 28.

5. WASHINGTON POST (MURREY MARDER FROM MOSCOW) FRONT-PAGES "VANCE ARRIVES IN MOSCOW TO PUSH #DEEP CUTS" IN ARMS." STORY HIGHLIGHTS PROBABLE SOVIET OPPOSITION, "CLOUD OF UNCERTAINTY" AND "CORRECT BUT NOT ENTHUSIASTIC RECEPTION" AT VNUKOVA AIRPORT. STORY IS BASED PRIMARILY ON SECRETARY'S AIRBORNE PRESS CONFERENCE ENROUTE BRUSSELS-MOSCOW.

6. EXCERPTS FROM WASHINGTON POST LEAD EDITORIAL ENTITLED "A CHOICE FOR THE RUSSIANS."

".....THE UNITED STATES HAS A NEW POSITION ON LIMITING STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AND CYRUS VANCE WILL BE EXPLAINING IT TO THE RUSSIANS IN MOSCOW THIS WEEK. AT THE MOMENT, ONLY ITS GENERAL OUTLINES ARE KNOWN TO THE PUBLIC. BUT ENOUGH HAS BEEN REVEALED TO INDICATE SEVERAL THINGS ABOUT THE POSITION THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS HAMMERED OUT. IT IS BOLD; IT IS TOUGH; IT IS SENSIBLE; AND IT POINTS IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION

YOU CAN ALREADY HEAR THE FIRST COMPLAINTS THAT MR. CARTER HAS TAKEN TOO TOUGH A STAND, THAT HE IS OFFERING THE RUSSIANS SOMETHING THEY DON'T LIKE AND SO IS EITHER A) NOT SERIOUS ABOUT WANTING AN ARMS DEAL, OR B) JUST TRYING TO NAIL DOWN AN AMERICAN ADVANTAGE. WE THINK NEITHER IS TRUE AND THAT THE ADMINISTRATIONS PROPOSAL, AS WE UNDERSTAND IT, GOES DIRECTLY TO THE MOST DEBILITIZING AND FRIGHTENING ASPECTS OF THE ARMS COMPETITION. THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN INDICATING DISPLEASURE WITH UNCLASSIFIED

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IT IS NEITHER SURPRISING NOR PARTICULARLY CONCLUSIVE AS

A GUIDE TO WHAT THEY WILL ULTIMATELY DO.

THE OTHER FACT WE NOTE IS THAT THE 1972 ACCORD WITH THE RUSSIANS ON OFFENSIVE WEAPONS RUNS OUT THIS FALL. WE THINK THAT MR. CARTER HAS POSITIONED THE COUNTRY WELL FOR MEETING THAT DEADLINE. THERE ARE CHOICES: A QUICKLY NEGOTIATED SECOND STEP AGREEMENT ALONG VLADIVOSTOK LINES, WHICH WOULD LEAVE THE CRUISE MISSILE AND BACKFIRE BOMBER OUT; A LAPSE OF THE AGREEMENT IF ALL PROGRESS TOWARD A

NEW ACCORD FAILS; OR AN EXTENSION OF THE AGREEMENT FOR A GIVEN PERIOD OF TIME TO COMPLETE NEGOTIATION OF A GENUINE CUTBACK TO LOWER (BALANCED) LEVELS OF OFFENSIVE STRATEGIC WEAPONS. THE LAST OF THESE WOULD CLEARLY BE MR. CARTER'S CHOICE. IT IS CERTAINLY OURS. AND WE THINK IT IS WORTH THE ADMINISTRATION'S WORKING HARD FOR.

CHRISTOPHER

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